

Standing Watch for Wandjina: The Systematic Setbacks of Aboriginal Cultural Copyrighting

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Abstract – This paper will identify the shortcomings of copyright policy available to Aboriginal Australians to protect their cultural property from misuse. Through the case study of Northern Coastal rock paintings of *Wandjina*, outrageous examples of cultural property theft exhibit how non-Aboriginal artists and the Australian government are inclined to exploit Indigenous communities as a byproduct of colonialism. Legal negligence towards Aboriginal communities is presented through dissecting the available copyright protections available to Australian artists, revealing a necessity for reform that does not align with western ideas of property. As a solution, Aboriginal communities may be able to re-appropriate other legal protection methods in Australia and claim *Wandjina* and similar imagery as insignia or coats of arms.

How can a government copyright something that created itself and is a physical threat if infringed upon? For the Mowanjum people comprising the Worrora, Ngarinyin and Wunambal language groups from the North-Western coastal region of Kimberley, Australia, this question is the case for safeguarding the sacred image of *Wandjina*. The Wandjina creator-beings produced self-portraits on rock faces as they died to immortalize themselves and remind their communities of their constant power. In turn, their portraits have become symbols of Aboriginal spirituality and craft. Because of these qualities, the images of Wandjina are quick to be appropriated by non-Aboriginal Australians, but with grave consequences for the communities who revere them. The unauthorized reproduction and blatant disregard for Aboriginal spirituality by non-Indigenous artists is an unfit environment for copyrighting. Current copyright laws are intentionally vague and lack the nuance needed to represent the complexities of Wandjina imagery. In order to accommodate the framework of Aboriginal history, copyright laws need to be analyzed as a vessel of western colonialism and adapted accordingly. Australia's colonial

claim over Aboriginal communities has allowed for legal and social exploitation of their art, making current copyright lawmaking inherently biased against protecting sacred Indigenous visual culture.

Nearly 4000 years of artistic and cultural development of Wandjina paintings exhibit their importance to Aboriginal groups as a sacred image as well as a physical threat that should not be handled by biased outsiders. The Wandjina were/are violent, warlike, and threatening creator beings. The ominous humanlike forms of Wandjina are painted on rock faces as towering beings sometimes over twenty feet long [Figure 1]. They are generally painted on a background of white ochre with rays of red ochre pointing out from all directions of their rounded heads.¹ Between their large, dark eyes hangs a long and bulbous nose, which is believed to be their vessel to bring heavenly power to earth.² Because of the power of its nose, a Wandjina is always shown without a mouth. Since the Wandjina control the major rainstorms of the Kimberly region, residents believe that if Wandjina are depicted with a mouth, they are granted immeasurable power for mass destruction through flooding or drought. Wandjina spirits are personified as clouds, and so they are depicted at various points of transition between a humanlike form and a final form that reflects a cloud with eyes [Figure 2].³ No two Wandjina are exactly the same, and they all have individual names, as they are believed to be the exact image of a living Wandjina that was left behind as it died. Therefore, the original artist of any original Wandjina is the Wandjina itself, though cultural narratives suggest they were occasionally assisted by one of their associates in creating the self-portraits.⁴ Although the Wandjina portraits

¹ Crawford, I. M, and Western Australian Museum. The Art of the Wandjina: Aboriginal Cave Paintings In Kimberley, Western Australia. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1968.

² Everard, Delwyn. *Safeguarding Cultural Heritage - The Case of the Sacred Wandjina*, Dec. 2011, www.wipo.int/wipomagazine/en/2011/06/article0003.html.

³ Crawford, 1968.

⁴ Everard, 2011.

are self-made by all-powerful beings, they still require seasonal maintenance in order to sustain their strength—visually and literally. It is the oldest living member of the community's duty to respectfully approach and speak to the Wandjina, as they are revered as still living, and repair any damage to their appearance in order to ensure the arrival of the monsoon rains.⁵

Because of their ancestral history, the recreation of the image of a Wandjina is restricted to only members of the Worrora, Ngarinyin, and Wunumbal language groups. The artists who are allowed to paint each Wandjina is limited to its specific community, and this is highly respected, as stated by Mowanjum artist Rona Charles, "You're only allowed to look after and paint the Wandjina that is of your country... I paint my Wandjina, the clan next door to me has their Wandjina; I can't paint their Wandjina."⁶ Before colonization, Wandjina imagery was so sacred that they would not have left their rock faces. However, in the 1930s, missionaries in Australia became interested in the Wandjina rock paintings and requested a portable recreation of the paintings as a piece of anthropological material for research.⁷ Thus was born the Wandjina bark painting, made on the inside of a strip of rectangular bark, with the top corners trimmed to make a point [Figure 3]. These became a popular commercial commodity in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and eventually depictions on composite board and canvasses became more common.⁸ It is unclear whether the Wandjina painted on bark hold the same spiritual significance as the original rock-painted figures, however these small-scale depictions are found in many museum and private collections, far from their creators. Because of the publicity of

⁵ Crawford, 1968.

⁶ McLennan, Leah. "Create Your Own Wandjina' Workshops Anger Kimberley Artists." *ABC News*, ABC News, 16 Feb. 2019, www.abc.net.au/news/2019-02-16/kimberley-artists-legal-action-over-wandjina-misappropriation/10813488.

⁷ Davison, Mark J, et al. "Bark Paintings." *Creating Australia: 200 Years of Art 1788-1988*, International Cultural Corporation of Australia, 1988, pp. 24–30.

⁸ Davison, Mark J, et al., 1998

Wandjina and this international success, many non-Aboriginal artists found interest in their symbolism and chose to re-interpret them with a similar mindset to that of colonization.

Public misunderstanding of Wandjina significance has left many non-Aboriginal artists to reproduce Wandjina incorrectly under the guise of self-expression. Most notably in the context of legal analysis, is the public sculpture titled *Wandjina Watchers in the Whispering Stone* by Gina Sinozich and the gallery outside of which it was displayed in Katoomba, Australia [Figure 4]. Sinozich was commissioned by gallery owner Vesna Tenodi to depict Wandjina with mouths and with no formal permission from Worrora, Ngarinyin or Wunambal elders. She justifies creating and displaying this piece, as well as her Wandjina art within the gallery as rationalized by a personal/spiritual relationship with them. She claims throughout the legal defense of her sculpture that “I have the right to do what I do, as given to me by the Those-who-Know, whom you also call Wandjina ... I do not speak for Aboriginal people. I speak for Wandjina, to the Aboriginal people.”⁹ Gallery owner Tenodi has a similar claim to connection with Wandjina, stating, “They cannot understand that I am a medium and I talk with God,” and, “I get instructions from Wandjinas and I do what Wandjinas want.”¹⁰ Sinozich and Tenodi’s identification with Aboriginal religion is not illegal or inherently wrong, however their choice to ignore centuries of religious law in order to pursue their own perception of Wandjina is selfish, ethically wrong, and should be punishable for the potentially physical harm it causes the Mowanjum communities.

These women pick and choose the aspects of Aboriginal culture with which they want to identify, as they believe they, as non-Aboriginal settler colonists, are replacing Aboriginal

⁹ Everard, 2011

¹⁰ McLennan, 2011

people. In 2011, Tenodi published a book espousing a thesis that the Australian Indigenous peoples were a dying race suffering from spiritual atrophy¹¹ [Figure 5]. Her book of Wandjina-based works claims that her paintings are a “revival of aboriginal spirituality,” as though she is benefitting the ‘dying’ Worrora, Ngarinyin, and Wunambal communities. These artists completely disregard modern Aboriginal existence and feel entitled to their culture as a byproduct of colonialism. Both Sinozich and Tenodi are immigrants (from Istria and Croatia), and have centered their artistic careers around the appropriation of Wandjina imagery as a result of assimilation to Australia’s culture of disregard and exoticization of Aboriginal communities. Aboriginal leader Galarrway Yunupingu recognizes the desire for non-Indigenous Australians to appropriate and effectively profit from colonial oppression, stating, “They are using the same old tactics of assimilation, except this time they are trying to assimilate our culture into their world because it is fashionable in their eyes and will make money.”¹² Because Tenodi is profiting from book sales, gallery entry, and publicity, her and Sinozich’s actions are not reflecting their claimed faith for Wandjina, but instead constitutes a means for financial exploitation of Aboriginal culture, rooted in colonial entitlement. Anthropologist Valda Blundell regards the *Wandjina Watchers* display in Katoomba as a “public expression of racial, cultural and religious intolerance and, as such, [it] had a substantial adverse social impact.”¹³ Tenodi and Sinozich disregard the result of their insensitivity and are blinded by their own ignorance. After weeks of community and legal backlash against the sculpture, which was not enough for the court to deem it unlawful, it was finally removed on the basis of a permit issue, and Tenodi has planned to re-install it in Sydney, away from the Kimberly region.¹⁴

¹¹ Tenodi, Vesna. *Dreamtime Set in Stone: The Truth about Australian Aborigines*, Anan Press, 2010, page 116

¹² Young, James O. *Cultural Appropriation and the Arts*. Blackwell Pub., 2008.

¹³ Everard, 2011

¹⁴ Everard, 2011

In other cases of public art, artists depict Wandjina with similar ignorance and colonial entitlement and face no legal consequences due to the anonymity of their art style. For several months in 2011, Wandjina were a trendy theme for graffiti artists in Perth, Western Australia [Figure 6]. Graffiti artists depicted them in many creative and experimental forms, to the point of a mass outpouring of Wandjina imagery on public surfaces, and a “Wandjina Watching” digital photo hunt popularized on the photo sharing website Flickr.¹⁵ The Wandjina figures and their spiritual significance were violated by artists putting them in cars, on surfboards, and often with mouths. The anonymity of graffiti artists creating faux Wandjina is complex legally and socially. Traditional copyright laws would require property owners whose structures were graffitied to remove the copyrighted material immediately, but this is an issue of more than property damage. Wandjina *do* have a copyright (as of 2015), however, punishment faced for infringement of this does not account for the emotional trauma of the Mowanjum peoples as their fearsome creator beings are repeatedly compromised by ignorant graffiti artists. Approaching this dynamic act of cultural copyright infringement, there is a clear need for a transformation of public perception of Aboriginal culture and spirituality which is evident in the colonial biases in Australia’s current cultural copyright laws.

Aboriginal visual culture is neglected by the limitations and pluralities of Australian copyright and trade agreement laws, which are structured from an exclusively western perspective. The first notable protection of Indigenous cultural property was the Copyright Act of 1968, which established the common copyright practice of protection only during the creator’s

¹⁵ Frederick, Ursula and. “Wandjina, Graffiti and Heritage: The Power and Politics of Enduring Imagery.” *Humanities Research* XV, no. 2 (2009); Coincidentally, Vesna Tenodi uses “Wandjina Watcher” as a pseudonym.

lifetime and an additional 70 years.¹⁶ This law is not effective for ancient artwork that was created up to 4,000 years ago, but the seasonal re-painting of Wandjina may provide a loophole. However, the Copyright Act only grants copyright to individuals and does not accommodate protection to belong to multiple artists.¹⁷ If an image is culturally owned, this raises the question of who receives royalties in infringement cases of Wandjina copyright.¹⁸ The second development in Australian Indigenous Culture and Intellectual Property (ICIP) law development was the Australian Trade Practices act of 1974.¹⁹ In theory, this act would protect Indigenous art and cultural property through punishment of souvenir-style craftspeople imitating Aboriginal art for sales to tourists. The act prohibits “misleading and deceptive trade practices,” but does not protect images like Wandjina unless the copying artist falsely claimed to be Aboriginal.²⁰ In the case of artists like Sinozich and Tenodi, they would face no legal consequences under this act because they did not claim to be Aboriginal.

In 1995, Section 41 of the Australian Trade Marks Act potentially provided a way for Aboriginal artists seeking legal protection to create a more dynamic trade mark protection.²¹ To do this, artists would need to provide an extensively thorough description of their images in order to account for as many variations of it as possible, which the state describes as “distinctiveness.”²² This, in turn, would protect the original image against infringement, but only

¹⁶ Janke, Terri. “Minding Culture: Case Studies on Intellectual Property and Traditional Cultural Expressions.” *Minding Culture*. World Intellectual Property Organization, 2003. www.wipo.int/edocs/pubdocs/en/tk/781/wipo_pub_781.pdf.

¹⁷ Korff, Jens. “Copyright of Aboriginal Art.” *Creative Spirits*, 11 Aug. 2020, www.creativespirits.info/aboriginalculture/arts/copyright-of-aboriginal-art.

¹⁸ Antons, Christoph; Logan, William Stewart. “Intellectual and Cultural Property and the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage.” *Intellectual Property, Cultural Property and Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Routledge, 2017, pp. 1–17. doi:10.4324/9781315714288-1.

¹⁹ Note: This was later changed to the Competition and Consumer act of 2010.

²⁰ Steinwall, Ray. *Trade Practices Act 1974*. LexisNexis Butterworths Australia, 2009.

²¹ Elkington, Brian, et al. *Trade Mark Law in Australia*. Butterworths, 2000.

²² Elkington, et al. 2000.

in the case of when an imitator chose to do one of the listed alterations. This information would have to be publicly available, and so a determined artist without respect for Aboriginal cultural laws could likely maneuver their way around the trademark. The Designs Act of 2003 could have proven useful for Aboriginal artists, as it allows for more flexibility in the appearance of a design (the restrictions are less distinct than a traditional copyright).²³ Examples of where this would be used include fabric patterns, variations of a logo, and clothing designs, and so the nature of this type of protection is primarily for commercial purposes. However, the design act does not protect designs that have been produced before (such as a 2000 - 4000-year-old cave painting) and the protection only lasts ten years with a steep fee, as opposed to a traditional copyright which is free in Australia (after paying for extensive legal services in order to acquire one).²⁴ Most recently, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP or DRIP), adopted in 2007 and supported by Australia in 2009, states in Article 41 a wide range of Indigenous practices which are protected:

*Indigenous peoples have the right to **maintain, control, protect** and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies and cultures, including human and genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literatures, designs, sports and traditional games and visual and performing arts. They also have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual*

²³ Monotti, Ann L., Wiseman, Leanne., Davison, Mark J.. Australian Intellectual Property Law. Australia: Cambridge University Press, 2008. pp. 328

²⁴ Arts Law Centre of Australia. "Protecting The Wandjina." 27 July 2015, www.artslaw.com.au/article/protecting-the-wandjina/#_ftn3.

*property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions.*²⁵

This new policy development was helpful in the process of acquiring copyright for Wandjina imagery in 2015 but lacks room for specificity of how infringement is identified and handled. The UNDRIP and all forementioned policy developments do not consider the age, range, and significant cultural and religious weight of Wandjina figures for the Aboriginal groups of the Kimberly region. These various policies, and the way they counteract one another (referred to as a “piecemeal jigsaw”) is a clear example of the negative effects of legal pluralities and how western law systems are rigged against the Indigenous groups they have forcibly dominated since colonization.²⁶ Legal phrasing is intentionally vague to allow room for interpretation, but this method does not account for the cultural suffering endured by Aboriginal groups who fall prey to legal insensitivity by their colonizers.

Unauthorized reproduction of Wandjina figures by non-Indigenous artists is distinctly identifiable as cultural appropriation, which is rooted in colonial histories, just like Western legal systems. Colonial influence makes both law and appropriation distinctly structured against protection of Indigenous visual culture and aims to retain unlimited access Indigenous resources and knowledge. The Oxford dictionary defines cultural appropriation as “*A term used to describe the taking over of creative or artistic forms, themes, or practices by one cultural group from another. It is in general used to describe Western appropriations of non-Western or non-white forms and carries connotations of exploitation and dominance.*”²⁷ This definition of cultural

²⁵ UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007, HR/PUB/13/2, available at: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/5289e4fc4.html> [accessed 5 March 2021], emphasis added.

²⁶ Kuprecht, Karolina. “Indigenous Peoples' Cultural Property Claims Repatriation and Beyond.” Springer International Publishing, 2014.

²⁷ Drabble, Margaret., Stringer, Jenny. “Cultural Appropriation.” *Concise Oxford Companion to English Literature*, 3rd ed., Oxford University Press Inc, 2007.

appropriation highlights the main complication of intellectual property infringement – there is a belief that if it is not blatant copying or claiming to be authentic/Aboriginal, it is justified. Non-Indigenous artists’ assumed authorization to use Indigenous visual culture is a byproduct of colonial entitlement and exploitation.

In the case of Wandjina copyright infringement on the basis of cultural appropriation, some non-Indigenous artists even admit to their appropriative behaviors. In his short-lived exhibit, *Add-Original Art*, Australian artist Driller Jet Armstrong added Wandjina figures into his landscape compositions and defended them by saying, “I take these rock art images, I appropriate them, and I re-insert them into the European landscape”²⁸ [Figure 7]. Armstrong’s response to backlash about appropriating Wandjina figures is rooted in Eurocentrism and ignorance about the cultures he is stealing from and the significance the images hold. He rationalizes that his artwork is reasonable because appropriation of Indigenous cultures has been ongoing since the origin of western colonization, stating, “You look at Picasso's African masks for instance, which are also inspired by Indigenous art.”²⁹ In interviews he has no remorse for breaking a 4000 year-old cultural law, and instead is concerned with being “censored.”³⁰ This perspective, and those of Sinozich and Tenodi, underscore the primary issue of why Indigenous art needs legal protection – non-Native artists feel entitled to Native cultures, crafts, and histories just like their colonizer ancestors felt entitled to Indigenous land and resources. This is notably phrased by Aboriginal author, curator, and activist Djon Scott Mundine: “Having taken away the land, children and lives, the only thing left [to Aboriginal people] is identity through art, and this

²⁸ Gordon, Oliver. “Art Exhibition Closed for Use of Indigenous Symbol.” *ABC News*, ABC News, 5 Sept. 2017, www.abc.net.au/news/2017-09-05/adelaide-exhibition-closed-over-use-of-sacred-Indigenous-symbol/8875646.

²⁹ Gordon, 2017

³⁰ Gordon, 2017.

is now being abused.”³¹ Aboriginal existence is an act of resistance to centuries of colonial oppression, and the refusal of Australian lawmakers to establish more dynamic protection of Aboriginal history and imagery is an act of colonial entitlement. This propels the cycle of appropriation of Aboriginal identities which can eventually lead to the destruction of their cultures and communities.³²

In the United States, the issue of cultural appropriation of Indigenous art as a legal concern has been faced before and exemplifies how western legal systems are not nuanced enough to accommodate Indigenous belief systems. In the 1960s, after 100 years of the policy “assimilation or annihilation” of all Native Americans, there was a worldwide marketplace for Native American crafts and historical items to “preserve” the memory of vanishing peoples and their cultures. Due to this demand for items, appropriation became an international issue, and the Hopi people of northeastern Arizona were targeted for their fine pottery, silver overlay, and baskets, which were reproduced and sold by outsiders. Like the Worrora, Ngarinyin and Wunambal people, the techniques of producing Hopi cultural objects and the objects themselves are sacred and very dangerous to the community if done incorrectly or by the wrong person. When the Hopi peoples went to a full trial court case through NAGPRA (Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act) for cultural appropriation (*United States v. Tidwell*), many breaches of Hopi privacy were made due to the insensitivity of the lawmaking body.³³ The defendant, Tidwell, had stolen, trafficked, and sold at least twelve sacred Hopi masks, and challenged the court by claiming that the masks were inauthentic. In order to reclaim their property, Hopi elders were forced to stand in front of the court and explain why the masks were,

³¹ Coleman, Elizabeth Burns. *Aboriginal Art, Identity and Appropriation*. Routledge, 2017.

³² Coleman, 2017.

³³ United States Supreme Court. *United States v. Tidwell*. 20 Aug. 1999.

in fact, authentic, but this could only be done through compromising a thousand years of protected religious knowledge.³⁴

They won the case and protection for their sacred items, but “While this may appear to be a victory for Native Americans, in fact Hopi religious leaders who were subpoenaed to testify on behalf of the Tribe found themselves immersed in a system of Western law at odds with traditional Hopi beliefs. The trial required them to share privileged information in a public arena in order to support charges against Tidwell.”³⁵ This NAGPRA case exhibits the difficulty faced by Indigenous groups at odds with western legal systems. The case of appropriation of Wandjina is similarly nuanced, in that the defense of their imagery requires extensive explanation of cultural practices in order to be considered by the court in legal circumstances. Both in the case of NAGPRA/Hopi Nation vs. Tidwell and the repeated appropriation of Wandjina, the guilty artists/collectors have lacked respect and understanding about the culture from which they are stealing and feel a sense of entitlement to sacred knowledge and imagery on the basis of “freedom of expression,” a westernized legal concept that does not align with many Indigenous concepts of cultural property. In this case of Western law, the court forced exploited Indigenous communities to adjust their religious morals in order to gain representation. Indigenous communities could respond to this maltreatment by bending western lawmaking, which was created to oppress them, and re-appropriating Western structures to create the legal protection they need.

As the faults of Australia’s ill-equipped copyright system come to light for Indigenous artists, Elizabeth Burns Coleman’s research points to a method in which to utilize Australian

³⁴ Spencer, Victoria. “Intellectual and Cultural Property Rights and Appropriation of Hopi Culture.” In: *Katsina: Commodified and Appropriated Images of Hopi Supernaturals*, by Zena Pearlstone and Barbara A. Babcock, UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History, 2001, pp. 176

³⁵ Spencer, 2001, pp. 177

lawmaking, without grand changes in policy, to better suit the nuances of Aboriginal visual culture. In order to account for the complexity, heritage, and cultural significance of Aboriginal paintings and performances, Coleman has recognized the flexibility of insignias as a tool for intellectual property protection. As a Commonwealth country, the value of insignias such as Coats of Arms, otherwise called “heraldic devices,” hold significant legal weight in Australia, and allow the flexibility necessary to account for Indigenous histories and specifications. A coat of arms is a hereditary symbol dating back to early medieval Europe, originally used as an identity marker during battle.³⁶ By approaching the image of Wandjina as an insignia, or as multiple distinct Coats of Arms for the specific Wandjina of the Worrora, Ngarinyin, and Wunambal communities, they are able to utilize policy that is already established, highly revered, and dynamic enough to suit their needs for representation. The written and pictorial description of these insignia is called a *blazon* and is the only binding description of the Arms. Because a heraldic device is a symbol described by the blazon, it is the same symbol no matter how it is depicted. This allows for the total possession of the various forms produced of the insignia, as well as room for artistic style flexibility for those who are allowed to reproduce the insignia.³⁷ The blazon and image of a Coat of Arms is owned collectively, like Aboriginal designs of the Wandjina, and similarly represents the bloodlines and geographical location of the person or family it symbolizes (in this case, each specific Wandjina). By utilizing the pre-established legal loophole of insignia, Aboriginal art would be granted more explanatory power than any other copyright, design license, or trade agreement has ever promised.

³⁶ Mckenna, Amy. “Coat of Arms.” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., www.britannica.com/topic/coat-of-arms.

³⁷ Coleman, Elizabeth Burns. "Aboriginal Painting: Identity and Authenticity." *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 59, no. 4, 2001:385-402. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/432291>. (394)

The complexity and cultural value of the Wandjina figure of North Western Australia's Mowanjum language groups is a key point through which to analyze cultural appropriation and Indigenous intellectual property lawmaking in the western eye. Wandjina hold immeasurable power for the Worrora, Ngarinyin, and Wunambal communities, and the cultural appropriation and ignorance that they are presented with by non-Indigenous Australian artists calls for both systematic and cultural reform. Artists act without shame and feel a post-colonial right to Aboriginal symbols and art forms, ignoring the damage they are perpetuating. While Coleman's proposal is the best compromise for Aboriginal lawmakers seeking to protect Wandjina imagery in the current legal system of Australia, this structure is still inherently oppressive to Aboriginal communities, and does not account for the behavior of cultural appropriators who view Aboriginal language groups as dead and in need of outsider revival. Until public perception can shift to recognize the faults of colonial forces on Indigenous communities, one must make the legal institutions at hand bend for them in order to protect their history and physical safety.

Figure 1: Wandjina on rock face. Source: Robyne Jay, "Wandjina at Mount Elizabeth." Date not specified. 772 x 1024 pixels. Digital image, available from Flickr.



Figure 2: Various stages of Wandjina, surrounded by fish. Source: Lanco Chrane, "Kimberley 251 Australia." Date not specified. 1024 x 768 pixels. Digital image, available from Flickr.



Figure 3: Wandjina bark painting in the Mathers Museum of world cultures. Source: Mathers Museum of World Cultures, "Bark Painting." Date not specified. 499 x1024 pixels. Digital image, available from Flickr.



Figure 4: The unauthorized Wandjina sculpture. Source: Gina Sinozich. “Wandjina Watchers in the Whispering Stone.” 2011. Sculpture.



Figure 5: Tenodi’s book on Wandjina. Source: Vesna Tenodi, “Dreamtime Set in Stone: The Truth About Australian Aboriginies.” December 16th, 2020. Digital image, available from Amazon.com

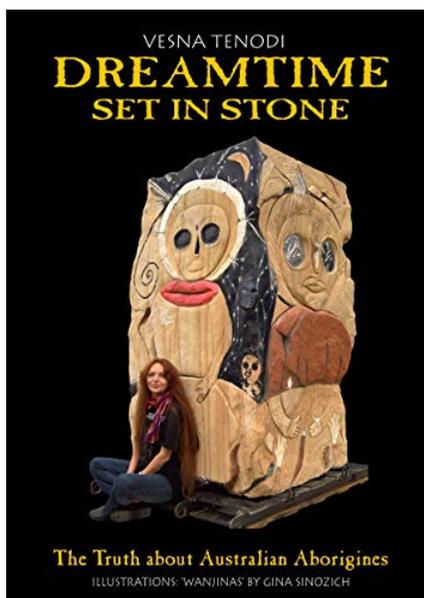


Figure 6: Graffiti of Wandjina in a car. Source: Nick Obec, "Wandjina stencil art." Date not specified. 1024 x 768 pixels. Digital image, available from Flickr.



Figure 7: Daubiest painting using Wandjina without permission. Source: Driller Jet Armstrong, Unnamed. 2017. Painting.



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